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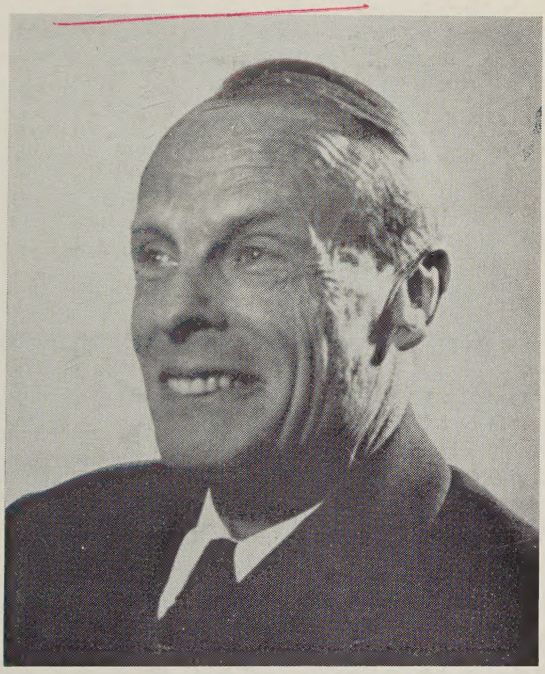
November 1957

Fellowship

Another South



ALLAN A. HUNTER *Author*

30¢

New Light for the Left

by Sid Lens

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COVER PHOTO: Allan A. Hunter, minister of Mt. Hollywood Congregational Church, vice-chairman of FOR, veteran pacifist and prolific author of books and articles, has a new one coming out this month. Published by Fellowship, it's titled **Christians in the Arena.**

FELLOWSHIP

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Fellowship
The WORLD in FOCUS

VOLUME 23, NUMBER 10 NOVEMBER 1957

Sputnik I

"Round and round it goes, and where it ends nobody knows!"

Millions of words already have been written and spoken about the Russians' new gadget, but truly no one knows what the end will be or in which direction it lies.

Obviously there will be a vast improvement in man's knowledge of the universe he inhabits. Weather forecasting seems likely to become something of an exact science. The shape of the earth will become known for the first time. And travel into space moves, apparently, very close.[1]

Just as obviously there has already been a deepening of the schism between the USSR and the U.S.A. The beep-beep of the little satellite is a constant reminder that the Russians, able to boost a 184-pound sphere 560 miles into space, can also boost an H-bomb warhead across oceans and continents at fantastic speeds. For the first time, the United States is seriously behind in the arms race, and some American officials seem to be approaching hysterics as a result.

But there are other considerations, too. Push-button warfare is no longer a future apprehension, but a present reality. Even the shreds of the fiction that some kind of defense is possible, or that war may be waged in a gentlemanly, "clean" fashion, are destroyed for good. The image of what mankind faces is com-

1 For a fascinating glimpse of the almost incomprehensible outlook for space travel, we recommend *The New York Times Magazine* for October 13, 1957.

plete and unmistakable. We have taken one more giant step in the direction of universal death.

In such circumstances pacifism makes obvious sense, and pacifists will be listened to as they never have been before.

Opening

A California clergyman took a copy of the September issue of FELLOWSHIP to a newspaper columnist. Result, a full column about *There Is Another South* and this comment: "FELLOWSHIP, a profound and liberal magazine. . . . A reacquaintance with its contents has gained for it another subscriber."

How many editors and columnists have you shown that issue to?

Verse

The attempt to "clean up" the H-bomb backfired more than most of these semantic gymnastics did. Even versifiers went to work. The British humor magazine, *Punch*, had this:

To call an H-bomb "clean"
  Makes sense and sound divergent,
Unless it's meant to mean
  The Ultimate Detergent.

While in the Evansville (Ind.) *Courier* appeared this by Mabel Kelley:

The "clean" new bomb's a tricky thing
  With which to come to terms:
It's like a dose of arsenic
  That's wholly free from germs.

An Exchange of Letters on THERE IS ANOTHER SOUTH

Proofs of the articles that appeared in the September issue of **Fellowship** were sent before publication to John Bartlow Martin, author of the **Saturday Evening Post** articles, "The Deep South Says Never." Following are Mr. Martin's comments and our reply.

A LETTER FROM JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN

Alfred Hassler
FELLOWSHIP
Dear Mr. Hassler:

Thank you for sending me proofs of FELLOWSHIP'S pieces on my series of articles on desegregation, which appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* and have now been published in expanded form as a book, *The Deep South Says Never.*

You may be interested to know that you have been joined in public condemnation of my articles by Senator Eastland and more privately by large numbers of Southern letter-writers who believe in segregation.

I take it as rather high praise that neither you nor the authors of your pieces saw fit to challenge the accuracy of any fact I reported.

I fear you and some of your writers have misunderstood the subject of my articles on the Deep South. My subject was the resistance movement—the resistance in the Deep South to the Supreme Court's desegregation decision—and nothing else. It was set forth clearly, I had hoped, in the first article, thus: "Let us study the remarkable achievement of a resistance movement that has uncompromisingly set its face against the mainstream of American thought as expressed by the Supreme Court of the land—and has thus far gotten away with it. Since Deep South resistance is little known in the country at large, we shall devote the first four articles of this series to it, studying only four states—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi. In a fifth

article, we shall examine the Border States, where desegregation has succeeded." A similar statement of purpose was repeated in each of the successive articles. Your authors Robert Graetz and Harry Golden recognized this. But some of your other authors appear to have misunderstood the delimitation of my subject and to be criticizing my articles for failing to go beyond their announced scope. In the Deep South, I was writing about the resistance movement, not about the work of your writers and their adherents.

In your letter you state that Lillian Smith and others say that I made no real attempt to make contact with white Southerners who are working against segregation. Unfortunately you and Miss Smith had no way of knowing it—unless you had asked me, as any good reporter would have done—but the truth is that I began my investigation by talking to Harold Fleming, of the Southern Regional Council, in Atlanta. He was in fact the first Southerner I approached; and in a series of conversations he and I decided that I should concentrate my investigation and my series on the resistance movement, which seemed to him and to me the important untold story in the whole field. We felt that the greatest service I could perform in this field was to tell the complacent American people how firm resistance had become in the Deep South—to tell them who the resistance leaders were, what they had done, what they said, what they believed, and why they believed it. This was my purpose, and I performed it as honestly and objectively as I could.

For your information, I talked to a few other pro-integration white Southerners in addition to Harold Fleming, some affiliated with the Southern Regional Council in other states, some leaders of the Anti-Defamation League in several Southern cities, Ralph McGill (who, I believe, is unfairly attacked by Miss Smith), and a few others. And of course some Negro leaders. I did not seek out other proponents of desegregation because they were not the subjects of my articles. My subjects were the resistance leaders.

As to your articles themselves:

Will D. Campbell: This is difficult for me to comment upon since I do not understand much of it. I don't know why he keeps writing about the "dead" churches in the South, as he calls them. I said nothing on this subject. I was writing about schools, not churches. And if by his odd first paragraph he means that *I* assume—he writes "it is assumed"—that the South is composed of what he calls "the sweet Magnolia, mint-julep-sippin', veranda-sittin' dream South," he is

wrong and I don't know where he ever got that idea. Surely such people as I quoted—Talmadge, Perez, Simmons, Coleman, for example—do not appear to fit into the category he seems to be describing (in so far as I can make out his category).

Lillian Smith: I have admired her work for years, and so am surprised at what she has written for you. She accuses me of "a shocking lapse of integrity and reportorial technique." She says I was obligated, as a reporter, to interview her and others who believe with her. Much as I am sure I would have enjoyed visiting with her, I was under no obligation to do so; my subject, as I have said before, was not what she thinks and does but what the resistance leaders think and do. She complains because "the South has been full of reporters from Northern papers, only one of whom has interviewed me." I wonder if she realizes how pathetically like every segregation leader she sounds when she says this? She speaks of herself as a "Southern leader," but with all due respect to her leadership, is it surprising that reporters interview more effective leaders with larger followings, such as Senator Talmadge, regardless of whether privately they agree with her or him? It may be too bad but it is a fact that right now the Talmadges, not the Smiths, are running the Deep South, including her Georgia, and reporters can scarcely pretend otherwise. And she writes, "But he found what he wanted to find." Pro-segregation Southerners have denounced me in almost precisely the same ignorant ill-tempered language, which is unworthy of a person of Miss Smith's attainments.

Harry Golden: I would certainly agree with Mr. Golden that the South is many things. I tried to suggest this; I concentrated on the resistance movement, recognizing, as he does, that nobody can write all about everything at one time. Mr. Golden may be right in his prediction of progress to come; I fear he is not.

Carl Landes: Again, he may be right, but I fear he is not. His piece makes several of the points my articles made; I would agree pretty much with his classification of Deep South whites and my articles said about the same thing.

Dan Whitsett: It is interesting that the Klan is finished in Alabama.

Robert Graetz: I believe my piece said substantially what he says.

Harold White: I would agree with Mr. White in substance but must point out that the title of my articles was "The Deep South Says Never"—the Deep South says it, not I. I was reporting what the Deep South said.

In general, I fear your quarrel, and your writers' quarrel, is not with me but with conditions in the Deep South; that you object not to what I wrote but to my choice of subject.

JOHN BARTLOW MARTIN

FELLOWSHIP'S REPLY

Dear Mr. Martin:

I do appreciate the time you took to comment on the articles in FELLOWSHIP.

As I suggested in the introductory paragraph to "There Is Another South," I have been an admirer of your writings in the field of penology. I was in prison myself as a conscientious objector during World War II, and have subsequently had a book on the subject published, so that I approach the subject with some intimate knowledge. It was precisely because of this respect for your work, and the insight you demonstrated in illuminating the nonconformist approach to prisons, that I was so disappointed in the *Post* series. For I must confess that, despite your letter, I continue to regard it as a far from adequate job.

This criticism might not apply with so much force had the articles been clearly labeled as what your letter asserts them to have been, namely, a report on the resistance movement in the South. But they were not so labeled, whatever your intentions or the occasional sentences in the text to which you refer. The series' title did not identify the "never-sayers" as the resistance leaders, or as the dominant political forces, or as a minority or majority of the white South. What it said was that the Deep South says Never—a whole section, and by implication and assertion, virtually the entire population of that section. By implication in both your articles and your letter the rest of the Deep South—the whites who oppose segregation and the millions of Negroes themselves—are dismissed as irrelevant and impotent, and this because, as Harry Golden pointed out, the bigots are making the noise.

What FELLOWSHIP'S writers—and they were surprisingly in agreement—were saying seems to me to be clear: that this second South is not irrelevant but that it represents the kind of deep-running force that will shape the future, as such unpublicized forces have so often done in history. This was what Mr. Campbell was saying in the article you say you could not understand: that these noisy convulsions

are the final struggles of a dying order, that the old plantation-dominated South—which the Talmadges and Simmonses and Colemans quite certainly do represent—is disappearing under the impact of new forces, and that its defenders are not acting out of their own initiative, but are reacting to the steady pressure of the move toward integration. And what Lillian Smith complained about is that *this* is really the untold story, and that you did not go to the people who could have given you the leads to that story. She is saying, I think, that you accepted the surface appearance as the complete story, which is not good reporting except in a very superficial sense.

And may I observe here that to maintain that the existence and development of the "resistance movement" is the "untold story" in America flies in the face of the newspaper front pages of the past two years. This is the story that is repeated over and over again; what disappointed us in your articles was that we read virtually nothing that had not been published before. Facts, yes, but one-sided facts that were not balanced by the deeply moving story of those who place everything on the line, including their lives, in the struggle for freedom.

As I write this, Little Rock, Arkansas, is convulsed with violence and tension. The dominating figures in the news are Governor Faubus, Judge Davies, the guardsmen and the white mobs, but they are not the ones who are shaping the future or speaking to the common humanity of the millions who watch. The key figures in Little Rock are the scared and trembling Negro children who dare to walk past the threatening mobs and up to the guardsmen, because in doing so they shake with devastating effect the whole structure of white superiority. No one needs to say that Elizabeth Eckford is a greater person than the whole 300 who heckled her—most people, including the 300, know it instinctively, and in the knowledge lose their grip on the stereotypes that have heretofore provided them with their moral justification.

The *Post* editors did not introduce your articles as a report on the forces resisting integration: they introduced them as "the most exhaustive and penetrating look at the problems of integration yet published in an American periodical." It is against that description that your report must be judged, and I am sorry to confess that I must agree with our writers that it was neither exhaustive nor penetrating. It is a pity that this is so, since those who fight the bitter struggle for freedom need at least the encouragement of knowing that others are aware of their existence.

ALFRED HASSLER

AFTER TOKYO

BY
ARTHUR DELAMARTER
AND
HOMER A. JACK

OUT OF THE ASHES

BY ARTHUR DELAMARTER

OUT OF THE ASHES of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and out of the fallout from continued bomb testing has come a movement in Japan against such devilish devices.

The Third World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs was set up by a Preparatory Center which met for weeks in advance of the conference date. The Conference itself was guided by a steering committee made up of one delegate from each nation and one from each international organization. This gave the United States two members. The conference was composed of delegates from 25 countries, with about 4,000 from all over Japan and 97 from other countries. Twenty thousand people attended a big public meeting.

In the U. S. there was some fear that this conference might be Communist-dominated. Actually, the Japanese government made it difficult for delegates from Communist countries to attend. Finally, however, persistent efforts by the Preparatory Center were rewarded and the conference became a world conference, though the Soviet and some other Communist delegations were delayed until the conference was in session for several days.

Every delegate had an opportunity to participate. There were days of discussions. Voting was tabu. Unanimity was sought, even though it took a long time to satisfy conflicting interests. Drafting committees spent hours, the final drafting committee an entire night.

On the final day, the Tokyo Declaration and the Appeal to the UN and to the Governments of the World were accepted with great applause, along with recommendations for action by individuals and groups of all kinds in all countries.

The Tokyo Declaration demanded "an international agreement for an immediate and unconditional ban on nuclear tests, the prohibition of manufacture, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons with international control, universal disarmament . . . the ultimate objective the outlawing of war itself."

The Conference appealed to the UN and to the governments of the world "to heed our call" and to reach agreements. It also issued recommendations for action, including "common action at all levels of populations, scientific research, exchange of information, international common action by religious people, youth, women, students, workers," etc., and suggested activities for the relief of nuclear bomb victims.

It is hoped that all organizations

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 10)

On August 6, the twelfth anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima, a ten-day Third World Conference Against A- and H-Bombs and for Disarmament began in Tokyo, Japan. Among the delegates were two Americans, whose reports appear below. Both are members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. Arthur Delamarter is a Methodist minister and the founder and director of God's Way Camps. He went to Tokyo as a representative of the Michigan FOR. Dr. Homer A. Jack is minister of the Unitarian Church of Evanston, Illinois. He edited **The Gandhi Reader**, published last year by Indiana University Press. The editors of FELLOWSHIP believe the Conference was of sufficient importance to justify the printing of both Mr. Delamarter's and Dr. Jack's views, particularly inasmuch as they differ markedly in their assessment of Communist influence at the meetings.

SOME HARD LESSONS

BY HOMER A. JACK

WHEN PACIFISM IS generally equated with nonresistance, some of us pacifists squirm. If possible we take pains to point out that pacifism means resistance, but of a nonviolent kind. Yet perhaps the public mind is more perceptive than we realize. Perhaps there are two kinds of pacifists—those who believe in nonresistance and those who believe in nonviolent resistance.

At the recent World Conference Against A-and H-Bombs and For Disarmament in Tokyo, several pacifists attended as delegates from several countries. Some were definitely nonresistant. By perhaps temperament and strategy they were not inclined to resist the center of gravity of the Conference which leaned toward a Communist analysis of world events. They felt their role was one of building friendships, of turning the other cheek, but never of suggesting that a position taken may be the wrong one.

Other pacifists at the Conference were just as definitely resistant. If they used some emotional violence, it was certainly not physical. They felt it wrong to watch a conference become, not so much anti-American as anti-human and pro-Communist. And so they protested, nicely but firmly, humorously but determinedly, whenever Communist doctrine was injected—which was often.

Who is to say what is the pacifist role at such a conference? Certainly one role is not more pacifist than the other and, in tolerance, both ought to be recognized as valid.

One example of the kind of opportunity presenting itself to delegates at the Tokyo Conference was when it was voted to send a communication of encouragement to the Americans arrested in Nevada for seeking to stop the nuclear weapons tests. A cable was drafted by a subcommittee which commended the Americans in Nevada and pledged that nationals from other countries testing weapons would also try to use the Gandhian methods to stop these tests. This second clause, including the mention of Gandhi, was vigorously opposed initially by—of all people—some Indians! They wanted, of course, to spare embarrassment to the Russians. What is the role of the pacifist in this situation? To lean back and recognize the realities of the political situation or to try to keep the original wording? In the end, the original wording was voted down and a much milder message of commendation crossed the Pacific Ocean to Nevada.

Such an international conference

as that held in Tokyo raises basic questions of pacifist participation. Knowing of the past history of the sponsoring Japan Council Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs, and of the inclusion of Communists from Japan and elsewhere, many peace organizations in America and England, including pacifist ones, refused to send official delegates. By this very refusal and thus by default, the Conference became even more pro-Communist than it otherwise would have been. But how does an individual pacifist or even a pacifist organization decide that one conference is responsible and another is not? I suppose origins and control are important factors. Many pacifists have never entertained an interest in attending the congresses of the World Peace Council because they felt, from the start, that that conference would be loaded against them. They could not make an appreciable impact and would only be used. The Tokyo Conference was not quite so biased and, had a dozen resistant pacifists come from a dozen countries, they could have made sure that the conference would go in a responsible direction—not necessarily pacifist, surely not American, but responsibly peace-minded.

What is most needed, at this moment in history, is a genuine world-wide peace conference to discuss the issues of a first-and second-stage disarmament agreement including the cessation of nuclear tests. This should have the widest possible participation, uniting pacifists, federalists, United Nations advocates, etc. It should, of course, include delegates from organizations in Russia, China, and their satellites. It should also include delegates from America, England, and the NATO countries. The center of gravity, however, might well be the so-called neutralist nations. Pacifists should amass their energies and their funds for this kind of conference, and give no more heed to Communist fronts or those conferences such as that in Tokyo which are, at best, united fronts. Communication amongst workers for peace is essential at this moment in history when some governments are not only ahead of their people, but even ahead of those people who say they have a special interest in peace. Above all, the Communists should never be allowed to create the impression that they, and they alone, want peace. This is a wrong impression only to the degree that non-Communists and anti-Communists commit themselves just as thoroughly as Communists to peace projects.

OUT OF THE ASHES

BY ARTHUR DELAMARTER

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8)

in all countries will plan earnestly appropriate follow-up and thus insure a worldwide movement against nuclear weapons and against war itself, a movement that will make it possible for the victims of the bombings to say once more, "It is good to live!"

For survival's sake we must care, understand each other, be friends, working together for the common good, with less emphasis on blocs and more emphasis on the good in all, working with all people, with less thought of "labels" attached to people. It was good to have contact with Christians from around the world, including Christians from Communist countries, but it was also good to have contact with all of God's children who came, no matter what their religion or lack of it.

New Light FOR THE Left

BY SID LENS

The following article is somewhat condensed from a paper originally prepared by Sid Lens for the American Forum—for Socialist Education. Mr. Lens is secretary of the Forum, which has scheduled the article for publication as a pamphlet. The editors of FELLOWSHIP regard it as one of the more thoughtful and penetrating recent discussions of the changing perspectives of the whole loose conglomeration known as "the left." They are therefore pleased to have Mr. Lens' permission, and that of the American Forum, to publish this condensed version.

Because its appearance may prompt questions as to whether there has been any change in the relationship between the Fellowship of Reconciliation and the American Forum, we should like to observe that nothing of the sort is implied. The FOR is not a participant in the AF in any sense; those FOR members who are part of it are such as individuals, exactly as they are involved in many other activities as individuals. By the same token, the pages of FELLOWSHIP are never closed to the free discussion of such political and intellectual movements as the American Forum represents, or to the writings of the respected and devoted individuals who are involved in its leadership.

THE LAST THREE decades have been, both for good and ill, among the most stirring in all history. In this short period we have been plunged into two bestial wars and one of the deepest depressions of all time. We are now living amidst the most extensive social revolution of all time.

In this context, two cardinal facts are evident. First, the above-mentioned events have confirmed the basic theses of the various radical movements that capitalism does not solve the problems of mankind and that a fundamental social change is necessary if humanity is to realize its full potential. Second, the marked organizational decline of American radicalism indicates that the latter has failed to keep pace theoretically with the sweep of history.

The record of Marxian socialism, the most virile and dynamic radicalism of our times, illustrates both of these facts. It accurately foresaw, in the last century, the recurring capitalist depressions and correctly laid open the workings of imperialism and the economic impulses that lead to war.

At the same time, however, Marxists were wrong in believing that the great social revolution would begin in the advanced capitalist countries, and it did not anticipate Stalin or Stalinism. They

also believed that further capitalist development would bring a polarization of the capitalist and working classes, with the former becoming increasingly smaller and richer and the latter larger and poorer. They also believed—wrongly—that the vast bulk of the middle class would be pauperized and absorbed into the working class.

Instead of this, we see in present-day America the increase of working-class leisure time and the emergence of a new white-collar and managerial class which has more than offset the decline of small business. The fact is that much of Marxism has been outmoded by events, and little has been done to correct Marx's imperfect blueprint of the world-to-be.

What is imperatively needed now is some basic rethinking of socialist theory. To a considerable extent, whatever "rethinking" there has been has resulted either in a rejection of socialism and an escape into tepid liberalism, or in the abandonment of leftism as a scientific guide to truth for leftism as a dogma.

The Communists have been the most culpable in the latter respect. With the victory of the Russian revolution, Stalinists, Lovestoneites and Trotskyists alike prefaced their remarks by citing a quote from Lenin, who became, to them, the high priest of a new cult. A new church was founded instead of a dynamic radical ideology, and with Stalin's rise to its papacy, Lenin became increasingly deified, along with Marx and Engels.

The non-Communist left was not far behind in its own brands of rigidity. Though ideologically more flexible, since it did not have a Kremlin to look to for infallible guidance, the old Lovestoneites and others have so accommodated themselves to the foreign policy of the West as a "lesser evil" that they often appear as staunch props of the status quo, indistinguishable from the Right. On the other hand there are small Trotskyist and ex-Trotskyist groups who have become so immersed in in-fighting that they have been unable to engage in any meaningful political thinking. Although they have analyzed many day-to-day problems cogently, they have failed, like everyone else on the left, to forge a comprehensive, rounded ideology to fit a world in revolution.

The task of producing such an ideology is a vast one which will not be done overnight. But if a beginning is to be made, the questions themselves must be posed, in order to see at least the outlines of the problem before us. I do not have the answers to these questions, but I hope, with all humility, that posing them may perhaps stimulate wider discussion from which answers may emerge.

What Is Socialism?

According to some, socialism is defined as the nationalization of industry and the planning of the economy. These objectives have been in effect for four decades in Russia, yet the purpose that socialism was meant to serve has not been realized. For socialism was supposed to liberate man from exploitation, improve his living standards and give him freedom.

It has been argued that totalitarian measures may be necessary in the early stages of revolutionary industrialization in order to provide an economic basis for heightened democracy at a later stage. It is a matter of getting over the

"hump" of economic development; to achieve a grand purpose, one or more generations have to be sacrificed.

Without debating the morality of ends and means, these questions must be asked in purely practical terms: Is it possible to embark on a path of evil and somehow arrive at a worthwhile destination? If absolute power over the economy necessitates absolute power by the state over the people, how do the people get their freedom back when the mission has been accomplished?

It seems to me relevant to ask whether there is an alternative means, a means that is consistent with the goal that is sought. If socialism implies state ownership in the interests of the people, must there not be countervailing features in a socialist society which would check and balance the great power of the state and safeguard the rights of the people from encroachment by the state? The Russian experience shows clearly that if the people have no means of expression to exert pressure on the state, living conditions are bound to deteriorate. If, then, socialism means popular control of industry through popular control of the state which owns it, how do you achieve this? Must there not perhaps be various types of property relationships competing with each other: state enterprises, large-scale cooperatives, certain types of private concerns? How much in each sector, and what sort of administrative divisions—community, municipal, regional, national, international—will assure an optimum of both democratic control and economic efficiency?

If, as I believe, democracy is essential to socialism, how is it to be expressed at the point of production and distribution—in the mines, on farms and plantations, in factories, warehouses and stores? How will the divergent economic interests of producers, consumers and administrators be reconciled with the interests of a state representing the people as a whole? In the light of the Russian experience it is no longer enough to say that the state will automatically act in the interests of the workers if only it is a workers state.

Socialism, if it is to make any headway, can no longer remain ambiguously defined, with all specific solutions deferred until "after the revolution." It must offer a new and better life than that of capitalism or Soviet communism, and it must present a workable program of how that life is to be secured.

What Is the State?

Since most socialist thinking has been geared to proposals for taking over the state and transforming or abolishing it, the question of what the state really is relates closely to our need to redefine socialism. Lenin, whose thinking developed in a context of tsarist autocracy, described the state as the "instrument of the ruling class." Before the revolution, the ruling class was the bourgeoisie; afterwards it would surely be the working class. And since the new social order was envisaged as comprising no other class, the state, now the instrument of the working class, would wither away, giving place to a society both classless and stateless.

Let us ask first, taking Lenin's definition to be sound, whether it is an exhaustive definition. Certainly it leaves many facts unexplained—why, for example, there are such differences in various

states that are supposedly capitalist: Britain, Greece, Sweden, Spain. Nor does it account for countries like Norway, Denmark, New Zealand and Australia, where cooperative and state property exist side by side with capitalist private property.

Plainly the Leninist formulation sheds little light on the gradual shifts in emphasis among contending classes that are reflected in states where a ruling capitalist class is under pressure from a powerful working-class movement, a die-hard feudal structure or various kinds of agrarian organization. If the state is not only a class instrument but also an arena in which opposing classes can make their weight felt, there is the theoretical possibility of the nonruling class increasing its share of power to the point where quantitative change becomes the qualitative "leap" of the Marxian dialectic, so that revolution occurs by the nonruling class becoming less and less nonruling until it becomes suddenly ruling.

Although Marx's metaphysics would permit the above hypothesis, his political economy would not. In the Marxian social analysis, a moment is reached when the relations of production come into conflict with the forces of production, and at that moment the revolutionary class makes a revolution in the sense of a dramatic, sudden, and forcible overthrow of the government of the old regime, in which the institutions of the old state are demolished and supplanted by those of the new. This does not, however, explain the peaceful evolution of Denmark from feudalism to capitalism to its present-day mixed-economy welfare state, nor the Meiji Restoration in Japan, wherein the feudal lords themselves restored the emperor and paved the way for capitalism.

In the light of these discrepancies, is there any valid reason to assume that tomorrow's social transformation will follow the patterns of 1776, 1789 or 1917? On this question hinges the more workaday question of the united front of radicals and "bourgeois" parties, and with it the question of a radical party's "limited program," the question of participation in "bourgeois parliamentarianism," and other related issues of expediency.

The Rocky Road to Internationalism

The left has long proclaimed as part of its goal the complete breaking down of international barriers. Before World War I, there was apparently unanimous agreement that "workers of the world" had more in common with each other than with "the class enemy at home." What happened to the Socialist parties in the war is too well known to require comment. Only those factions of the socialist movement in Russia and the United States which were later to become the Communist parties held to the anti-war stand. And finally the concept of international solidarity came to mean that workers in all countries should "defend the Soviet Union"—whether it defended them or not.

Nationalism has proven more formidable than any nineteenth-century socialist thinker could ever have imagined, even in his most pessimistic moments. Even the idea of world government no longer has the attraction it once had in advanced socialist circles, and in many countries it does not even get much lip service. Socialists in the Arab countries, in India, in

Pakistan, in Burma, in Africa and in Latin America are more concerned with regional federations and other forms of limited multinational cooperation. The attitudes of American leftists to these situations are at best equivocal, ranging from the irrelevant reaffirmation of the "right of nations to self-determination," to acquiescence in whatever happens to be the policy of the U.S. State Department.

What should leftists do, if they are not simply to abandon internationalism? Is the United Nations just another "league of bandits"—as Lenin dubbed the old League of Nations—incapable of reform for socialist purposes? Or can it be modified successfully by creating a UN Army with full police powers, by having popular elections for delegates, or by some other measures?

A twin problem is the question of international organization of leftists themselves. In recent memory, three Internationals have flopped in one way or another: the Second (Socialist), which was so loose a confederation that it virtually fell apart on any substantial issue, fragmenting into national viewpoints; the Third (Communist), which served only the national interests of Russia and was so tightly centered on Moscow from its inception that Stalin was later able to abolish it by a simple ukase; and the Fourth (Trotskyist), which was so sectarian that it never got off the ground. The left still faces the task of forging a genuine world, rather than a national approach.

Reform or Revolution?

Instead of rehashing old questions of "revisionism" or going into the Luxemburgian arguments on reform versus revolution, it may be fruitful to test leftist theories against the theories of Keynes, which, despite their lack of a Marxist pedigree, appear to have kept capitalism afloat and stable, particularly since the war.

There are really two questions here. One is: Are Keynesian economics adequate to resuscitate an otherwise moribund capitalism, giving it a new lease on life that defers socialism for an interminable period? And the second: is capitalism moving towards state ownership and planning in such a way that it is paving the way for socialism?

Whether Keynes may prove a bridge or a barrier to socialism can only be determined by history. In either case, it behooves thoughtful radicals to take Keynes seriously, either to expose whatever flaws there may be or to reveal a fuller connection between Keynesianism and Marxism. If the students of these questions are really good Marxists, perhaps they may come up with a completely new economic synthesis from the thesis and its purported antithesis.

The Role of Love and Humanism

A generation ago, to ask what part love or humanism has to play in a leftist philosophy would have evoked nothing but mirth from most radicals. "Hardened" by the Russian revolution, they poked

ceaseless fun at the utopian thesis.

But life has proven here too that the left can be led astray by its own dogmas. Utopianism or humanism was precisely the feature most lacking in the Soviet experiment. The admirable goals of the revolution were completely subverted by its means—internal violence, frameup, slave camps, monolithic tyranny.

In capitalist society too there has emerged a fact that the left did not anticipate. The amelioration of poverty which has resulted from technological advances has not produced the kind of improvement of the worker's plight that was visualized. Material gains have been offset by what Erich Fromm calls "alienation": the worker tends to lose his sense of significance and of social relatedness; his life is emptied of meaning and he is reduced to the status of a mere cog in a gigantic machine, an unhappy abstraction instead of a creative, mature human being.

It used to be assumed that problems of this sort could be tackled "after the revolution." But the left itself has suffered so greatly from its own "revolutionary" hardheartedness that this subject becomes an immediate and vital one for the movement, both as to theory and practice. Lack of tolerance and of integrity is undoubtedly one of the factors contributing to the decline of the left, especially among the Communists, whose repeated apologies for all manner of crimes in Russia on the basis of "socialist expediency" have lost them innumerable followers.

In such attitudes of inconsiderateness and expediency there is a striking resemblance to the philosophy of capitalism—every man for himself, dog-eat-dog. This "rugged individualism" of the left, or "rugged sectarianism," must yield to a new attitude more consistent with the basic ethics of socialism, which are essentially humanistic and concerned with the intrinsic value of the human person.

An oversimplified rationalism which sees in religion nothing but superstition and a pie-in-the-sky diversion from real solutions to real problems has blinded too many of us to the good ethical and moral values of religion. To a large extent in this matter the left has thrown out the baby with the bathwater. If only as a matter of self-defense, leftists must concern themselves with such questions as Gandhi's philosophy and techniques of nonviolence, and the morality of love and tolerance. In my opinion, there is no chance in America or elsewhere for a new left which does not translate its long-range faith in humanism into an immediate concern.

How Can the Social Revolution Proceed Along Democratic Lines?

The question of love and humanism gives rise to the question of the road to social reconstruction. Much of the lack of humanism has resulted from a failure to understand the integrated purpose of the social revolution, and from a fixation on industrialization *as such* instead of as merely one of the preconditions for socialism.

Industrially backward countries have to form capital in order to industrialize. This means postponing the production of consumer goods to a certain extent in order to obtain capital goods; or exporting consumables and importing heavy industrial equipment. The question is to what extent are the people to be deprived of immediate

tangible benefits for the sake of future rewards, and for how long.

Marx dealt at great length with the problem of capital formation, showing how the early capitalists solved it by robbing or "squeezing" the peasantry. But radical thinkers have hardly begun to analyze this problem in relation to underdeveloped countries which labor under far greater handicaps. In 1800 a small investment in production yielded consumer goods almost immediately. Now, however, enormous sums must be invested in heavy goods industries such as steel before an industrial complex is established which can eventually result in consumer goods. Countries which seek anything resembling a position of competitive equilibrium with respect to the pace-setting advanced industrial nations must bridge a gap amounting to a century and a half of slow development—and they must achieve this in a fairly short period.

The Russian technique was to postpone consumer benefits for decades and to stifle demands for a higher living standard by ruthless terrorism. Under Stalinism, considerable capital formation was accomplished, but only at a terrible cost in human life and freedom.

Is the barbarism of the Stalinist road to capital accumulation to be indelibly associated in the minds of people with socialism? It is no answer to say, "Why worry about Russia, let's think about America." For too many Americans, Russia *is* socialism—they will not trade capitalist prosperity, no matter how shaky, for the arduous lot of the Soviet worker, no matter how rosy his prospects for the future.

A way must be found to harmonize industrialization with human values, to make socialism democratic in process as well as in intent. This whole question needs serious review and elaboration, and any methods which are inconsistent with humanistic values must be sternly repudiated. The Soviet way of industrialization must not be held up for emulation, but should be pointed out as a pitfall to be avoided.

Corollary to this question is another: What is to become of Communist countries which have already embarked on the Soviet path of industrialization? Having achieved some measure of industrial success, can they now develop peacefully toward democracy, on their own momentum, or will popular demands have to buck bureaucratic opposition until they culminate in revolution, as in Hungary? Or are there other alternatives that are feasible in the Communist world? Both Communists and non-Communists are generally agreed that radical changes are needed in Russia. What must they be and how are they to take place? Is there any real difference between the Russian method and the Chinese method? How does Titoism fit into this picture? Some people who used to follow the Soviet Communists blindly have transferred their adoration to the Chinese. Whether their hopes are justified or not, the subject needs independent review and thinking.

The American Road to Socialism

How can social change be effected in the United States?

In the thirties, radicals too often brushed off the New Deal as a "reformist stopgap" that would peter out after a short period, leaving the field clear for more deepgoing changes on the Marxist

pattern. But the short period has now spanned a quarter of a century, and American capitalism, thanks to welfare-state methods and Keynesian practices, has proved sturdy enough to refute the radical argument of the thirties that it was on its last legs.

This is not to say that capitalism is here to stay, or that a real revolution has been carried out. But the question remains: how do we get from where we are now to where we want to go? The hope of a mass Socialist or Communist party as a vehicle to socialism is now dead as a doornail. How will a new party of any kind develop in a country where it is next to impossible to get on the ballot in most states? Will a labor party emerge from a split in the Democratic party, or straight from the ranks of the labor movement, or from a conference of union leaders, or what? Must it wait until there is a depression or some other unforeseeable event? Who is going to call the shots, or are radicals going to sit on their hands and wait for "something" to happen?

One crucial area of American life has been the subject of many slipshod proposals and of more oratory than analysis, and that is the Negro question. No one in the left anticipated such developments as the nonviolent bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, and the role of religious leaders and people—not labor or the left—in this struggle. Too often, reliance has been placed on such rhetorical phrases as "self-determination in the black belt" or on the idea that the Negro's civil rights would come as a byproduct of union organization. But neither the Communists' "Negro Nation" nor the CIO's "Operation Dixie" has borne fruit.

Little, in general, is to be expected at the moment from the labor leadership. At a point when labor idealism is at an ebb, what is the left's perspective? What program does it offer to inject militancy and idealism into the AFL-CIO? Should it propose a leftist faction in the AFL-CIO, or bet everything on Walter Reuther? Is there anything to be said for a rival, leftist labor federation, or is this now the same blind alley it has proven in the past?

What makes for social change in America anyway?

On balance the American left has a vague general position that distinguishes it from other political orientations, but it has virtually no concrete grasp of the issues that provide the necessary link between the people and its long-range goals. On far too many vital questions of immediate relevance, it is silent or far-fetched. What is the left's position on militarism, on labor, the Negro, the farmer? And more important than being simply "for" or "against" any of these, what does the left propose to *do*, for example, to combat militarism, or to stabilize the economy if the defense budget should be cut? These are questions that cannot be skimped. If the left thinks that it can bide its time until some convenient cataclysm occurs, and then

simply pick up the pieces, it may find some new "stopgap" solution once more preempting its supposedly destined role.

Questions of War and Power

The problem of war is of a somewhat different order than the other questions with which radicals have traditionally been concerned. Like the Negro question, it has usually been shunted aside with rhetoric: "Socialism will take care of that." Although problems of war, sovereignty and power are intricately related with many of the foregoing questions, there remain some specific problems that may be posed.

For instance, now that imperialism has lost so many colonies, what new forms are strong nations using to dominate the weaker ones? With revolution a persistent feature of modern world affairs, can a third world war take place, or will we witness only small, local wars like the revolutionary wars of the 19th century? History moves so fast, and the left has been so mired in dogma, that theoretical questions far outpace theoretical understanding. The record of socialist opposition to actual wars has been spotty since World War I. For the most part, the tendency has been for the right wing to support the government, for the left to oppose, and for the center to render critical support—and for the Communists to do whatever Moscow deemed expedient.

What would be the attitude of a new left towards a local war on the order of the Spanish Civil War? Or towards a major war, with or without nuclear weapons, "clean" or otherwise? What allies must the left seek to stave off such a war—pacifists, veterans, munitions workers, scientists, or whom? Until new light is shed on such questions as these, it will be idle to theorize about internationalism or imperialism. Wthout much solid rethinking the left cannot explain what the current power struggle is about or how to deal with it.

What are the basic causes of war? How can the world be changed so as to eradicate those causes? What kind of international organization is most likely to prevent war and facilitate the kind of society we want?

With the continuing crisis in world Communism, there is an impelling impetus for new light to meet not only the old, unsolved problems, but also a crop of new ones ripened by the revolutionary wave of the present, which will in all likelihood be followed by political realignments comparable to those of 1917-1924. The second revolutionary wave of our times will undoubtedly be followed by the second regrouping. Only the bare outlines of that realignment are visible at this writing. Poland and Hungary have shaken the tree, but further events in both the capitalist and Communist orbits are to be expected before we can say that the harvest is in.

History, of course, cannot be prodded. The social systems of our epoch are all in transition—capitalism, Communism, feudalism. Mankind can only watch and wait while the conditions for their transformation or suppression develop further. In the meantime, there is a gnawing need for light by which to view these events intelligently and in which to restudy and modify the basic principles and the program of the left to bring them up to date so as to attract a new generation.

Kerk En Vrede

PEACE WITNESS IN THE NETHERLANDS

KERK EN VREDE is Dutch for "Church and Peace," the strongly church-oriented Netherlands branch of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

With approximately eight thousand members, *Kerk en Vrede* is the third-largest affiliate of the IFOR; and in relation to the country's total population it is unequivocably the largest.

Though a small country, the Netherlands has long played a vital part as a focal point of pacifism as well as of Protestant Christianity. To the country that once served as haven to religious nonconformists from England, Cornelis Boeke in 1916 brought the new idea of the FOR that had been founded in England in 1914 and in the United States in 1915. Boeke called it the "Brotherhood in Christ."

It was under the auspices of this Brotherhood that Boeke, together with Henry Hodgkin, founder of the British FOR, called an international conference of fifty pacifists from ten countries in Bilthoven, the Netherlands, in 1919, which resulted in the founding of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

With this article, **Fellowship** begins a series of short features affording a glimpse of the various organizations throughout the world that are affiliated with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Later, the Dutch Brotherhood dissolved, giving way to *Kerk en Vrede,* under the leadership of Prof. G. J. Heering of the University of Leyden and the Rev. J. J. Buskes. Dr. Heering, who died in 1955, is widely known as the author of *The Fall of Christianity,* one of the basic texts of pacifist theology. Dr. Buskes, present vice-president of *Kerk en Vrede,* wrote "The Fellowship in South Africa" (FELLOWSHIP, December 1956).

According to *Kerk en Vrede* General Secretary J. J. Wentink, recent years have brought increased emphasis upon the testimony to the churches that "peace is the will of God," and there is in the Netherlands now a large ecumenical group "which propagates with us the necessity of a 'new political ethic.' " In addition to this, a Discussion Center has been set up, in which *Kerk en Vrede* people meet regularly with representa-

tives of the Roman Catholic *Pax Christi* movement, the Mennonites, the Quakers and the international peace movement.

Persistent efforts dating from before and during World War II have won for *Kerk en Vrede* "a legitimate place in the churches," says Wentink, "whereas formerly we were considered as an unreal sect."

This fact is borne out by the circulation growth of *Militia Christi*, the Dutch pacifist magazine, founded in 1936. Published twice a month, it now reaches 3750 readers regularly. Four years ago it went to 255 ministers; today it reaches over 500. "A consequence of this," says Wentink, has been that in many church groups the questions relating to war and peace have come up again for discussion, with or without our direct cooperation. The result of this can hardly be expressed in figures."

Special issues of *Militia Christi* built around last year's Hungary and Suez crises, and Albert Schweitzer's Appeal to Mankind have called for press runs of 7000 copies, and a *Kerk en Vrede* pamphlet urging a halt to nuclear weapons tests was distributed to 220,000 people.

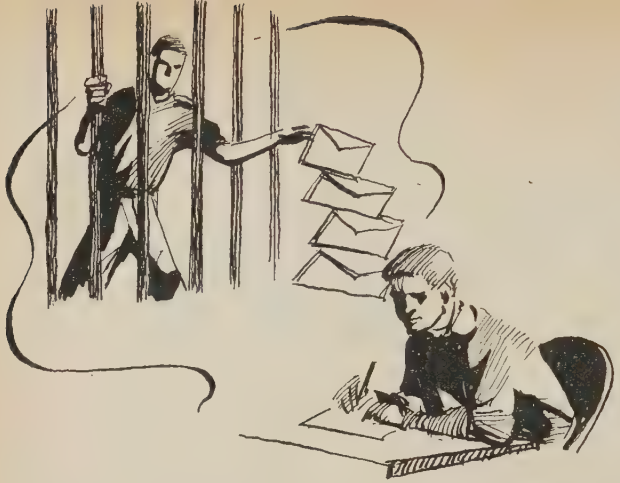
Generally the Dutch wing of the IFOR does not, however, go in for spectacular agitation. Except for special events, it eschews mass meetings in favor of discussion groups with a variety of current issues on the agenda. *Kerk en Vrede's* "big" annual event is a two-day conference of about 300 members as well as representatives of various church denominations.

KERK EN VREDE leaders (l. to r.): General Secretary J. J. Wentink, President-Chairman Hannes de Graaf, Secretary Emeritus J. B. Th. Hugenholtz.

The regular work of the organization is conducted by forty local groups or "correspondencies," under the overall direction of the General Secretary in Amsterdam, who in turn is guided by the monthly meetings of a managing committee of fifteen ministers and laymen. Among the former are pastors of the majority Dutch Reformed Church, and the Mennonite and Congregational churches. Others are businessmen, missionaries and professionals. One, the Rev. J. A. van Nieuwenhuyzen, is both a Congregational minister and one of the directors of the Hilversum Broadcasting and Television Corporation.

Kerk en Vrede's principal *bête noir* bears a striking resemblance to that of other IFOR affiliates: lack of funds. "A full-time employee is urgently needed," reports General Secretary Wentink, "to master the large volume of administrative and organizational work. In the past year 16,000 mailing pieces were sent out [besides the magazine and pamphlet mentioned above]. If it were financially possible to add such an employee, our work could be extended strongly. Unfortunately our pecuniary resources are insufficient."

Peacemaking remains a big job for which there is never enough money or staff. But somehow it presses forward, and hope springs eternal. When it comes to pluck and elbow grease, our *Nederlandsche* brothers and sisters are right in there, pitching.



Start Your Christmas Caring Early

BY ARLO TATUM

NO ONE CAN SAY how many young men are languishing in the world's prisons for refusing to be conscripted into one of the many national armies.

Without question Jehovah's Witnesses comprise the largest single group. Probably a few thousand at this moment are incarcerated. A few hundred others, mostly Christians, are suffering the same fate. At best they are caged in the degrading, modest comfort of a British or American prison for a relatively short period; at worst they are dying of tuberculosis and semi-starvation, in some actual cases being driven insane, and will not be released until the government is convinced they are too enfeebled to be worthy of further persecution.

Active Brotherhood

Among most minority groups in our society, concern over brother members in distress is translated into effective assistance, and considered a duty. Perhaps the existence of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the War Resisters' International is, in part, an expression of pacifist concern in this area. Both organizations have sought for years to implement this concern and have been effective in specific cases. Yet I think some healthy self-criticism, for not doing a great deal more, might be justified.

In 1950 the WRI initiated a program of sending greetings to imprisoned war resisters about whom information could be obtained, and to Scandinavian COs confined in alternative service camps.

Christmastime was chosen because it is one of the few times prison officials are inclined to unbend and permit greetings from other than the prisoner's relatives. It was appropriate also because most of the countries which employ conscription are either "Christian" or Communist. ("Christian" governments and Communist governments are mortal enemies not only because of their differences, but because of their common faith in force.)

New Venture

Last year the WRI launched Prisoners for Peace Day, and the

response was most encouraging. In Israel a nationwide gathering honored past martyrs of our movement and sent greeting cards to the imprisoned, while two individuals picketed the French Embassy to demand the release of French COs. The pickets themselves were arrested.

Prof. Johannes Ude addressed a huge public meeting in Stockholm; the White House in Washington was beset with pickets demanding amnesty for former COs and freedom for present ones; letters to editors appeared in dozens of European newspapers; valuable publicity was gained by meetings and public protests in West Germany and other countries.

At the same time pacifists in Japan, Poland, South Africa, East Germany and Denmark, to mention only a few countries, were busy signing their names to Christmas cards and mailing them to pacifist prisoners on the WRI "Honor Roll."

Giuseppe Gazzotti, an imprisoned Italian boy, received over 400 such greetings last Christmas. His mother writes: "This large correspondence has resulted in a valuable witness about the prison. It has been the object of plenty of discussions, and a cause of wonder."

President Coty of France has privately referred to the greetings received by imprisoned French pacifists as an "indication of concern in Britain and elsewhere" over their treatment. A truly impressive volume of greetings might cause him to take action.

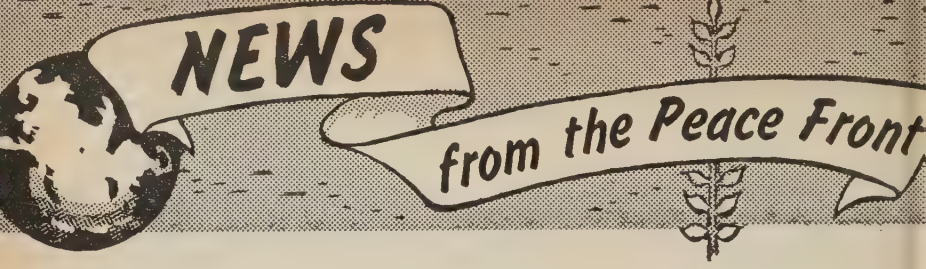
This Year

December 1, 1957, will mark the second annual Prisoners for Peace Day, and the regular "Honor Roll" of imprisoned war resisters (available from WRI Headquarters, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middlesex, England) is being prepared. Fellowship Christmas cards are most suitable for sending, and it is hoped that many more pacifists in the United States will want to join in helping to warm the hearts of our imprisoned brothers. Those who can send to only a few are asked this year to remember the Italian COs, for a bill granting them legal recognition is pending before the Italian Parliament.

Much remains for us pacifists to learn when it comes to international collective action. But here is a simple, direct project in which each of us can play a vital part, regardless of differences in outlook, whether we are socialist or anarchist, isolated or organized. You can help to make the first of next month, Prisoners for Peace Day, a pleasant memory in the midst of some imprisoned pacifists' demoralizing, monotonous prison routine.

Arlo Tatum

Since last year, Arlo Tatum has been General Secretary of the War Resisters' International. Until January 1955 he was Executive Secretary of the War Resisters' League (U.S.A.). For an interim period, he served on the International staff under Grace M. Beaton, whom he succeeded in his present position. Arlo's brother, Lyle, is a member of the Executive Committee of the Fellowship of Reconciliation.



EC Approves New FELLOWSHIP Format

On October 14, the FOR National Executive Committee enthusiastically accepted a unanimous recommendation of the Literature Committee concerning important changes in FELLOWSHIP.

Some months ago, Editor Alfred Hassler had sketched out a plan whereby news and commentary on current events could be greatly improved by publishing a four-page edition of FELLOWSHIP to be issued twice each month, and a larger edition every two months in an enlarged format that would add more than 50% more printed matter to each issue. Dummies of both editions were made up by Managing Editor William Robert Miller and shown to the Executive Committee, who voiced hearty approval of the plan.

The subscription price will remain $3 a year under the new set-up. Discussions with the printer revealed that production costs will not be appreciably higher. The extra "cost" will be confined to more work for the editors.

The page size in both editions of FELLOWSHIP will be 6″ x 9″. The four-page "peace information" edition will appear 24 times a year. Six times a year, on those dates when it coincides with the bi-monthly edition, it will be bound into the 32-page "article and story" edition, making the larger version a total of 36 pages.

"One big advantage of the semi-monthly," Miller told the Executive Committee, "is that it puts us in closer contact with the news. At present, a minimum of two weeks pass between the writing and the reading of the news. Under the new arrangement, it will be only a matter of days, since the semi-monthly will be done separately, set by varitype and printed by offset, with all problems of layout and proofs handled in a single day."

The first issue of the new FELLOWSHIP will appear January 1, 1958, and will feature articles by Henry J. Cadbury, Martin Niemöller, Erich Fromm and others.

Haverford Declines Defense Grant

Haverford College has rejected a request by three faculty members that the college apply for a Defense Dept. grant for research work. Instead, a special research fund will be established with an initial appropriation of $10,000 to cover research. The college board said that such grants are "a threat to free academic inquiry" and are inconsistent with the principles of peace of the Society of Friends. Faculty members will remain free to pursue off-campus research of any nature.

Psychiatrist Discusses Pacifism and Neuroses

At the New York FOR annual conference which was held at FOR headquarters at Nyack on the weekend of October 4, psychiatrist Margaret Lawrence, secretary of the Episcopal Pacifist Fellowship, and FOR National Chairman Charles Lawrence led a discussion on the psychological motivations and problems of pacifism. Mrs. Lawrence said that, although a small minority turn to pacifism as a subconscious outlet for various neuroses, the main body of active pacifists come to pacifism through a genuine feeling of love and respect for mankind. Neurotics, she said, exist in no greater proportion among pacifists than in other spheres of belief.

Others addressing the meeting included A. J. Muste, Secretary Emeritus, who led a discussion on the fall program against H-bomb testing, and Alfred Hassler, editor of FELLOWSHIP. National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley, fresh from his trip to Little Rock, discussed the problems there and made suggestions for their solution. Curtiss Moody, Youth Secretary, outlined plans for three student conferences to be held in Boston, Manchester College, Ind., and Baldwin Wallace College, Cleveland, Ohio.

Koinonian Fears Silence On Race Bias

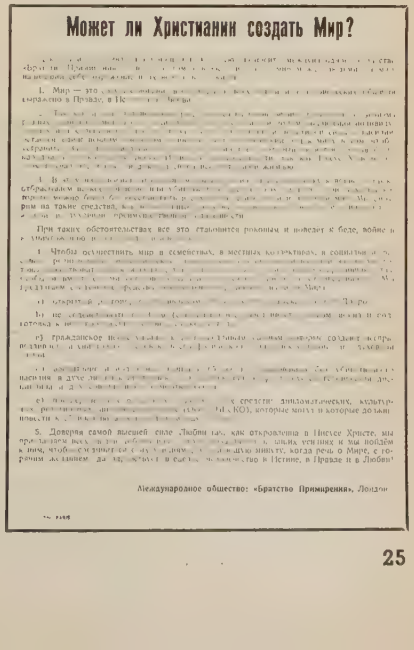
The Rev. Clarence Jordan, FOR member, told a meeting of religious leaders at a race relations forum sponsored by the National Capital Area Council of Churches in Washington, D. C., that the "silent, insidious mob of good church people who give assent" to racial prejudice are more dangerous than the frantic mob with their shotguns. Jordan is director of the interracial Koinonia Community at Americus, Ga., which, after four months of relative peace was again fired on by night riders on September 25.

"What can I say for those who know the Word of God and will not speak it?" Jordan added. He went on to praise the few Southern clergymen who *have* spoken against racial prejudice, but said: "I fear the silent church more than the shouts of the mob."

FOR Leaflet Distributed In Moscow

FOR members attending the World Festival for Youth and Students in Moscow, July 29-August 11, handed out many copies of a pacifist declaration of principles in the streets of Moscow and Sogorsk.

Titled "Can the Christian Make Peace?" the leaflet (see cut) de-


Может ли Христианин создать Мир?

Международное общество: «Братство Примирения», Лондон

scribed itself as "A Declaration (statement) of the principles for which the international society, 'The Fellowship of Reconciliation,' stands, discussing how to defend peace among men, as it is expressed in their faith and in their lives."

The statement, issued by the International FOR, stated that the only way to lead humanity towards peace is by the "force of love and truth and justice, as Jesus Christ taught and applied it in his life of redemption," and added: "We refuse to accept war and its preparation . . . as a means of establishing and maintaining peace. We consider these ways unworthy of the nature of man and of his intellectual and spiritual capacity." The leaflet urged all Russians to join in working for peace and suggested as means "open discussion with the adversary to find together the common good" by education in nonviolence, civil disobedience to "unjust laws which destroy man in his corporal, intellectual and spiritual life, and the encouragement of all peaceful ways: diplomatic, international, cultural and religious."

Dr. Hildegard Mayr, one of the FOR members who distributed the leaflets, said that they were accepted with great interest and formed the basis of much discussion among Russians who read it.

FOR Joins in H-Bomb Vigil

A "prayer and conscience vigil" protesting the continued manufacture and testing of nuclear weapons was scheduled to begin in Washington, D. C., on November 1. Sponsors of the vigil include the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the War Resisters' League, the Friends Peace Committee, and the Committee for Nonviolent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, among others.

Director of the vigil is Lawrence Scott, FOR member and former AFSC peace secretary in Chicago, who also led last summer's demonstration at Las Vegas. Organizing secretary is Charles C. Walker, FOR Middle Atlantic regional secretary, who is being "loaned" by the Fellowship for this purpose. A "call" for participants in the vigil was sent to all FOR members in the middle Atlantic section late last month.

Center of the vigil will be a prayer center, which it was hoped would be manned night and day. In addition, participants will walk back and forth before the White House, visit Congressmen, editors and other public figures, and engage in such other projects as are agreed upon.

The vigil marked the beginning of what is expected to be a major concentration by peace groups on the issue of continued nuclear testing. A special meeting of the Consultative Peace Council was summoned to discuss the possibility of a joint drive by peace groups, and the FOR Executive Committee approved the special assignment of Charles Walker to work in this area until next April 30.

Grace M. Beaton Dies

On September 19, at the age of 59, Grace M. Beaton died in England after a long illness. Miss Beaton worked with the War Resisters' International for thirty years and retired from her position as General Secretary in July 1956 because of ill health.

Smiley Visits Little Rock

On September 24, FOR National Field Secretary Glenn E. Smiley flew to Little Rock, Ark., to discuss plans to combat racial tension there. He met with local FOR members, members of the Arkansas Council of Human Relations, headed by FOR member Nat Griswold and leaders of the local NAACP. During his five-day stay, Smiley also conferred with an informal committee of social agencies and church organizations.

Plans were made to hold a workshop on nonviolence at which Smiley and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. will conduct an all-day session, and arrangements were started for an extensive education program to include work camps for high school students and adult discussion groups.

On October 6 Smiley traveled to Evanston, Ill. on the first stage of a three-month speaking tour. His itinerary will reach as far south as Havana, Cuba, covering Delray Beach, Fla.; Tallahassee, Fla.; Montgomery, Ala.; Birmingham, Ala.; Nashville, Tenn.; Knoxville, Tenn.; Morristown, Tenn.; and points in between. Members wishing to attend any of these meetings should contact their local FOR group leaders.

Nehru, Kishi Ask Nuclear Test Ban

On October 13, Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Japanese Premier Nobusuke Kishi issued a joint statement declaring that suspension of nuclear weapons tests "must be the first step toward creation of conditions in which the prohibition of the manufacture and use of nuclear weapons and disarmament in other fields may become possible." The two Asian leaders said they will instruct their United Nations delegations to "cooperate with a view to bringing about the suspension of nuclear tests as well as an agreement on disarmament among the powers concerned." The statement was issued on the eve of Nehru's departure from Japan after a ten-day state visit.

Birmingham Clergy Aid Negro

Last month, members of the interracial Birmingham (Ala.) Brotherhood of Clergy organized a "Conscience Fund" to aid Judge Aaron, a Negro who was recently tortured and brutally mutilated by six Klansmen.

The sole purpose of the KKK atrocity, said local police, was to warn the Rev. F.L. Shuttlesworth, FOR member and Negro integration leader, that "this will happen to any Negro sending his child to a white school." Shuttlesworth has tried to enroll his children in an all-white school.

Students Ask 1½ Year Halt in Nuclear Tests

The 14th Assembly of the United Student Christian Council, meeting at Wooster, Ohio, last month voted for an 18-month moratorium on all nuclear tests. A statement was also issued declaring that "We commit ourselves . . . to promote civil rights and justice and . . . ask the students whom we represent to do the same." Telegrams were sent to the govenors of Arkansas, Tennessee and Alabama, asking them "to use lawful means to secure integration."

Polish COs Penalized

Conscientious objectors in Poland are being punished for their beliefs by having their food cards confiscated and by being denied work, according to a report by a Polish member of the War Resisters' International. Since the Communist government is the sole employer in Poland, this policy amounts to a decree of starvation.

The plight of Polish COs was described in a report to the triennial conference of the WRI, meeting at Roehampton, England, July 15-20. The human rights of war resisters in the West were also a subject of discussion at the conference, which resolved to send an open letter to NATO urging that these rights be respected.

Among other matters discussed were plans for a "summer school for adults and young people" to be held at Store Restrup Husmandsskole in Sonderholm, Denmark, July 21-27, 1958. The school's theme will be "Causes of War and Ways to Peace."

A-Tests Double This Year

The United States, Britain and Russia have set off more than twice as many atomic explosions this year than in any other year, according to a report in *The New York Times*. To date there have been forty-two announced explosions—twenty-seven in the U.S.—this year as against sixteen in 1956.

Reporting an interview with Dr. Willard F. Libby, scientist member of the Atomic Energy Commission, the *Times* stated that "the fall-out of strontium 90 has continued to show the same generally uniform increase of recent years."

STATEMENT REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF AUGUST 24, 1912, AS AMENDED BY THE ACTS OF MARCH 3, 1933, AND JULY 2, 1946 (Title 39, United States Code, Section 233) SHOWING THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION OF FELLOWSHIP published monthly except August at Nyack, N. Y., for October 1, 1957.

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ALFRED HASSLER, *Editor*

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 6th day of September, 1957.

(SEAL)

CONRAD J. LYNN

(My commission expires March 30, 1957)

Church Groups Act in Race Crisis

Last month, reports from various quarters indicated growing concern among religious groups over recent events in the South. Here, in capsule form, are some of the more notable developments:

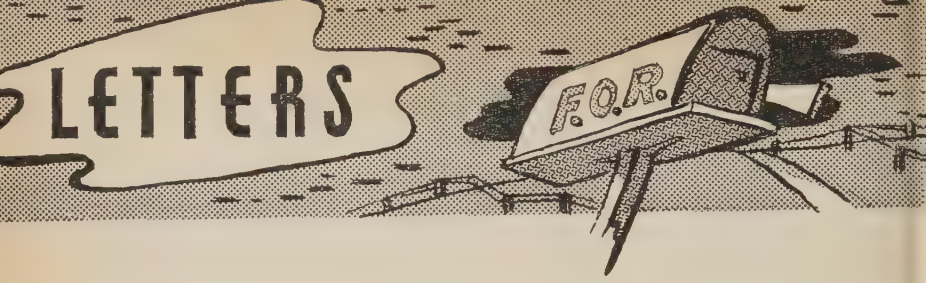
• On October 4, in response to a request from President Eisenhower, fifty Protestant, Catholic and Jewish clergymen in Little Rock, Ark. formed a "ministry of reconciliation" to ease racial tension there. The group has organized discussions in local churches and special prayers for "understanding and compassion" and "law and order" are being offered in religious services throughout Arkansas. (For a report on FOR Field Secretary Glenn Smiley's trip to Little Rock, see News, p. 27.)

• On October 2, the General Board of the National Council of Churches passed a resolution commending those who have given "effective Christian witness" in the desegregation crisis and asked that the deep concern of the Council be conveyed to ministers and communities in Little Rock and other places of tension.

• Ninety-seven Methodist Church conferences have approved the gradual dissolution of the Central (Negro) Jurisdiction and the voluntary integration of its churches, it was reported last month. Six conferences rejected the proposed amendment to the denomination's constitution. Thirty-six conferences have yet to vote, but it seems certain that the proposal will receive the necessary two-thirds majority and be adopted.

• Fourteen religious and other nationwide organizations have joined in submitting an *amici curiae* brief to the U.S. Supreme Court, supporting an appeal by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People against a 1956 Alabama Circuit Court decision. The court held the NAACP in contempt of court for refusing to open its membership files to the Alabama attorney general and imposed a $100,000 fine. The brief states: "Alabama's effort to expel the NAACP has placed in jeopardy the fundamental constitutional right of individuals to join together to form associations in order to express and advance their views."

• In Bethesda, Md., last month, Rev. John Baker of the Unitarian Church of Montgomery County, and his congregation launched a college scholarship fund for the nine Negro pupils of Central High School, Little Rock. If receipts permit the fund will be extended to provide scholarships for white pupils at the school who have shown friendliness to the Negroes and "had the bravery to be human even as the mob was howling outside."



Speak Out—Now!

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Bomb tests continue to spray their poisonous radioactive particles across the earth. It seems clear that the administration's belittling the advice of many scientists and the many appeals from America and abroad, to stop the tests, indicates that irresponsible militarists are at the helm.

What can the concerned people do to remedy this gravely portentous situation? At least we can speak out against the money-empire-mad terrorists whose pretext for their destructive policy is fear of Russia. If we are convinced that we have a better political and economic system than communism, let us demonstrate it by our actions. Let us lead in renouncing war. The threat of criminal violence neither contributes to our safety nor to the containment of revolutionary movements.

Bomb testing, warplane maneuvers, etc., by the dominant powers, are manifestations of the root-evil—militarism. May the Church and the common people express their convictions at this critical time.

LOUIS OBED RENNE
Menlo Park, California

Civilization, Anyone?

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

There is something new on the market in the way of supplies for the family bomb shelter. Food, water, radio, first-aid kit, tranquilizers, and other articles essential to surviving a thorough bombing are no longer enough. Leading authorities now believe that some preparation should be made for the hour when the shelter user emerges from his refuge.

In response to this urgent need comes a compact kit which may be kept in the bomb shelter until needed. After much investigation the manufacturer eliminated all non-essentials and included only those items which he felt were basic equipment for the bomb survivor.

This fast-selling package is called the "Do-It-Yourself Civilization Kit." It contains two dry sticks (for starting a fire), a bow and arrow, a small bag of corn seed, and a stone axe, all wrapped snugly in a piece of untanned leopard skin. As you can see, the "Do-It-Yourself Civilization Kit" has within it everything the bomb survivor needs to establish his new home in comfort and security with every hope of a bright future. The bomb survivor who does not have a "Do-It-Yourself Civilization Kit" will be at a distinct disadvantage. For that reason and because too few realize the need for equipment of this type, the manufacturer is, for a limited time only, including a genuine bone fishhook with each "Do-It-Yourself Civilization Kit!" That makes this item, already reasonably priced, a real bargain. These kits would make wonderful gifts for your friends and relatives, too. Think what fun it would be if you could all start a civilization together! Visit your friendly neighborhood dealer and order *yours* today!

IOLA A. WALLENBERG
Los Angeles, California

NOTE: Due to severe space limitations in recent issues, brought about by the pressure of events, we have had to defer publication of many letters, two of which appear below, much belated. Part of the problem is the length of many of the letters we receive. Please try not to exceed 200 words.—THE EDITORS

An Answer to Peace Pilgrim

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Regarding Peace Pilgrim's "Three Extensions" (Letters, May FELLOWSHIP) I offer "Three-dimensional Tensions."

I, like many, live and eat and dress as the world does. We live in dreadful tension with our consciences, often feeling out of harmony with our fellow-men and God. We teach school, preach the Gospel, administer the community service agencies, arrange for the FOR and AFSC films to be shown, pamphlets to be read, speakers to be heard.

We pay taxes, because we earn too much, because we work for state institutions, because we conform. And the pain is severe when we must either pay the poll tax or forego the opportunity to use the ballot as an instrument of brotherhood. But the rewards are great—we teach the youth the ideals of Christ, we visit the sick with the message of hope, we help the destitute regain their dignity, we place before the community the constant challenge of the pacifist message. And we suffer from the pangs of a conscience that asks, "Are you a pamphlet-pacifist?"

We criticize the racist policies of our state sovereignty commissions, we judge the evasive tactics of our legislators who try to circumvent the law of the land and of God—we try not to harbor any negative feelings toward our brothers of all persuasions—but we do harbor resentment when men throw bombs, we do hate the blindness of administrative red tape that refuses to listen to the appeal of conscience to halt the H-bomb tests. And we pay for this resentment and hatred by an overpowering sense of our own inadequacy.

And from this sense, we learn the peace of God that passes all understanding. We learn that as God forgives our hates and prejudices, so must we forgive others'. But we also realize that forgiveness of sins is not sufficient without conversion to a new life. "Go, and sin no more." So we "go" and like Peter in the courtyard, we falter. But Peter was in the courtyard? Where were the others?

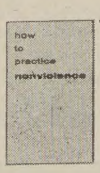
JOHN L. MCKENNEY
Fayetteville, Arkansas

Integrity Above the Law

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Congratulations on a particularly fine issue for February. The two superb articles on desegregation were complemented meaningfully by the fine, thoughtful one on Gandhiism. However, Lillian Smith's impels me to remark "on the the other hand." There is a note in it that worries me, and I think it should worry all readers of FELLOWSHIP. Her statement of the freedoms given up by segregationists is magnificent. Her point about "extremism" and "moderation" is sound—provided we keep clear her definitions of those terms. But the bottom dog has a way of getting to the top, and the top dog of finding himself one day at the bottom. We need to make sure that the ethic we follow and the judgments we make will be equally valid from either position.

We must work for desegregation not because it is the law of the land, but



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because it is right. Slavery was wrong in 1857 and segregation was wrong in 1896, Supreme Court or no. What shall we say if the Court reverses itself tomorrow? We can be thankful that the law is now on the side of right, for we believe in law. But as all FOR members must admit, there are evils that cannot be made right by law, and which we are bound to resist, whatever the law. If this risks anarchy, then we must risk anarchy: it too may prove constructive, as Wallace Hamilton shows in the case of India.

But if something is above law, what is it? It is the integrity of man's moral nature. And this requires us to refrain from judgments, and to have the utmost charity for our opponents. It does no good to represent their position as weaker than it is—which I am afraid Lillian Smith does. In her desire to condemn all "moderates" she forgets to mention those people (and I think they are numerous) who are genuinely concerned "when innocent people are hurt and brave people lose their jobs and lives" especially when these people are fighting for the right but using techniques which the "moderate" may feel are self-defeating.

Personally I incline toward Lillian Smith's view of what is the best course of action, and I have unbounded admiration for Dr. Martin Luther King's movement. But let's go slow on blanket judgments of those who honestly differ with us. We owe infinite respect to a man's honest opinion not because his opinion is right, but because it is his honest opinion—and it just might turn out to be right. We have no obligation to let one man exploit another just because he thinks he is right; but even he deserves our Christian love and consideration in the same measure as his victim.

J. Richard Reid
Rochdale, Massachusetts

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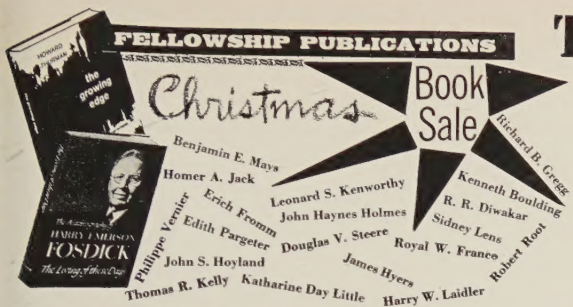


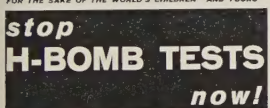
THIS PAGE IS TOO SMALL!

Even with the tiniest typeface, we couldn't possibly list all the books in Fellowship Publications' gigantic Christmas book sale. But maybe these highlights will spur you to write in for the order blank listing them all.

• **very special**—we are working at breakneck speed to get Allan Hunter's brand-new book printed to fill Christmas gift orders. In handsome stiff paper binding, it is called CHRISTIANS IN THE ARENA. You'll want copies for yourself and all your friends. It won't be officially "published" until January, but you may order advance copies to be mailed out starting the middle of November. Price: $1.50.

• **big three**—topping the list of new books are three important books by FOR members: Howard Thurman's THE GROWING EDGE ($3), Harry Emerson Fosdick's THE LIVING OF THESE DAYS ($4), and Vera Brittain's TESTAMENT OF EXPERIENCE ($5)—ideal for Christmas giving.

• **startling values**—pursewatchers will delight in the chance to buy a number of excellent books at prices usually reserved for raggle-taggle. You'll be pleasantly surprised.



• **alarming thought**—maybe you've seen them already. They look pretty big even at a distance, these bright red, 4″ x 8″ stickers. Ten cents each, 20 for $1, 50 for $2, 100 for $3.50, 500 for $12.50.

• **repeater item**—presumably you have just finished reading this issue, so there's no need to tell *you* about FELLOWSHIP—except to drop the hint that if you find it worth reading, many of your friends may too. To help this hint along, we have removed one-third of the pecuniary obstacle, if that's what is holding you back. Special Christmas gift rate: only $2; and the gift is received not just once but month after month.

CHRISTMAS GREETINGS

OF PEACE AND RECONCILIATION

How far away is Christmas? Six or seven weeks? Not very far—especially after you subtract the time it will take for your gifts and greetings to reach those who are far away. For many of us, if we reflect a moment, Christmas is almost at hand.

In another sense, too, Christmas is very near. In a world so ridden with peril and disaster, tailor-made for pessimists, Christmas looms as the great beacon of hope it has always been—a time of joyous renewal, of glad tidings. More than any other holiday, it is a time for rededication and affirmation of peace and of the spirit of love and reconciliation that lived in Jesus.

That is why Fellowship Greetings, like those shown at left, are so very appropriate to the occasion. No others surpass them in their affirmation of the underlying meaning of Christmas—and proceeds from their sale go into the day-to-day work of reconciliation that is too often forgotten between Christmases. And their artistic quality belies their moderate price. Order now, so that all your friends may share in a *real* Christmas this year.

Note: Due to extremely heavy early sales, supply of some cards may soon be exhausted. Please indicate clearly your second choice.

FELLOWSHIP GREETINGS

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